1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

000 316 the highest, coldest, part of the country. Coal was exploited and mined in a primitive way in one of the valleys north of Hsining and near the junction of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers. According to the local *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 20*a*), iron was exploited during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644); but the deposits must have been exhausted, because during the period of my stay iron was carried all the way from the Province of Szech'uan on donkeys and mules.

In the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, and some of their small tributaries, gold was panned at irregular intervals; south of the Hsining River and in the upper reaches of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, thirty-one auriferous placers were regularly exploited, mostly by Muslims.

487 492 505 The system of communications was primitive. Ox carts could travel on the roads near the larger towns and villages, but most transportation depended on pack-animals, including donkeys, mules, and horses. It was only subsequent to the period covered by this study that a highway was built connecting Lanchou, the capital of the Province of Kansu, with Hsining, the capital of Ch'inghai. The Hsining River was, therefore, the biggest transport asset of the country. From the Hsining River to the Yellow River, which flows by the city of Lanchou, cargoes of grain, wool, skins, vegetable oils, and alcohol were carried on rafts made either of wood or of inflated ox skins as far as the city of Paot'ou, in the Province of Suiyüan, where they were unloaded and carried on by rail to the seaport of Tientsin. Most of this transportation business was in the hands of Chinese Muslims. [463] [563]

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 In the oldest Chinese historical references, the country between the Tat'ung, Hsining, and Yellow Rivers was called Huang Chung and was inhabited by tribes called Ch'iang. The Chinese ideograph for this name indicated that it had the meaning "herders of sheep." The name is one that has never disappeared from Chinese usage in referring to the peoples of the edge of the Tibetan plateau; it is in use to this day. In 202 B.C. the Hsiao Yuehchih, who were probably speakers of an eastern Iranian, Indo-European language, fled from the Hsiung-nu, the principal tribe of the northern Chinese frontier, settled among the Ch'iang tribes, and were absorbed by them.

In 116 B.C. Ho Ch'ü-ping, one of the most famous frontier commanders in Chinese history, came to Huang Chung and founded the first Chinese colonies among the Ch'iang tribes. In A.D. 4 more Chinese colonies were established in the region of Kukunor, but were lost after a few years. This was, in fact, a precarious frontier. For three hundred and sixty years the frontier colonies were often in danger of annihilation, being subject to frequent tribal attack and without support from China proper, because the Later Han dynasty of the first and second centuries A.D. was troubled with chronic dynastic

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

563 the T'ang dynasty (618–906) or the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368).

The presence of Muslims in the Hsining district under the Yuan dynasty is however evidenced by two passages in the *Annals*. One of the sixteen Monguor clans, the small clan of Yeh, is described as being of Ch'ant'ou origin, and Muslim by religion. The term Ch'ant'ou, meaning "those who wear a turban on the head," is commonly applied to central Asian Turkish Muslims. Since this clan submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 at the same time as the other Monguor clans, it must have been settled in the country under the preceding Yuan or Mongol dynasty. (Provincial *Annals*, ch. 42, p. 52.) It is also stated in the same *Annals* (ch. 42, p. 43) that the Salars also submitted to the Ming in 1371, when two of their chiefs were granted the rank of T'u-ssu. According to popular tradition they came to China from Samarkand under the T'ang dynasty. The *Annals* give no evidence for or against this tradition, but show that they were at least living in China at the end of the Yuan dynasty.[2b]

The religious fanaticism of the Muslims has been their strength and their weakness.[3] It has enabled them to hold their own against the Chinese, but rivalry between sects has prevented complete cohesion. One sect, commonly known as the Old Religion, belongs to the Hanefite school; that is to say, it bases its religious doctrines on the Koran and on the Sunna or tradition. The other sect, known as the New Religion, is divided into a number of subsects and derives from the schools of the Shias and the Sufis. This sect holds that religious leaders are invested by God with special "grace"; this grace can be passed on to their sons who succeed them as religious chiefs. Owing to this belief, the sect is always exposed to the danger of further subdivision through the appearance of new claimants to religious leadership who declare themselves to be endowed with "grace." Owing to its belief in this kind of religious inspiration, the sect is marked by its devotion to the cult of saints and their tombs.

The Chinese-speaking Muslims are to be found in the cities and in villages to the west, south, and north of Hsining. Occasionally a few Chinese-speaking Muslims are to be found living in villages of the non-Muslim Chinese, but non-Muslim Chinese do not live in the villages of the Muslims. While the Muslims engage in agriculture, their most important and profitable activities

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[2b] The following references to the Muslims of Northwest China are from *Moslem World*, New York: M. E. Botham, Islam in Kansu (**10**: 377–390, 1919); H. D. Hayward, The Kansu Moslems (**24**: 68–80, 1934) and Han and Hwei in the Kansu-Sinkiang marches (**26**: 62–67, 1936). See also G. F. Andrew, Islam in North-West China today, *Jour. Roy. Central Asian Soc.*, London, **19**: 89–100, 1932.

[3] Kansu was disturbed by Muslim rebellions in 1648, 1781–1784, 1820–1828, 1862–1878, 1895–1897; a revolt broke out in 1909 but was suppressed by the Muslim chiefs themselves; between 1918 and 1921 the situation was very tense; the last revolt, 1928–1929, was headed by Ma Ch'ung-ying.

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563 are in the grain trade, and the buying and selling of horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wool, hides, and lamb skins. Their importance in the boat and raft trade on the Yellow River has already been noted; and many Muslims are innkeepers on the roads of Kansu. Even the astute Chinese respect them as formidable rivals in trade. There is a Chinese saying to the effect that "one Muslim asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese," and another that "the food of the Muslims is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted." It is also said that "out of ten Muslims nine are thieves."

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SALARS

563 The Salars live chiefly in two groups in the sub-prefectures of Hsünhua and Payenjung.[4a] The famous Chinese Muslim general, Ma Fu-hsiang, who enlisted many Salars in his troops, mentions the tradition that the Salars came to China as early as the T'ang dynasty, and describes them as having settled in their present homes under the Yuän or during the Ming dynasty. He divides them into two groups, the "inner five clans" (using for "clan" the Chinese word *kung*) and the "outer eight clans." The "outer" group, according to General Ma, is one that has lost its Turkish language and now speaks Tibetan. The Salars preserve their old customs and traditions by marrying only within their own groups.[4] I have often been told by Uighurs from Sinkiang who used to come to Hsining every winter to deal in Russian leather, boots, and cloth that they could not understand the dialect either of the Salars or the Turkish-descended Monguors of the Yeh clan.

The Salars are the most fanatical of all the Muslims and during the great Muslim revolts against the Chinese they have always been the fiercest and the most cruel warriors. General Ma Fu-hsiang carefully distinguishes the Salars from the Tibetans, from the groups of Mongol origin converted to Islam, and from the Tibetan-speaking group of Mongol origin which has also been converted to Islam. He himself belongs to the group of converts of Mongol descent. This group is called "San-t'a" by both Tibetans and Monguors.[5]

[4a] General references: R. B. Shaw, On the hill canton of Salar. The most easterly settlement of the Turki race, *Jour. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, London, **10**: 305–316, 1878; G. F. Andrew, Ancient Chinese Koran, *Moslem World*, New York, **24**: 84, 1934; C. D. Holton, Salars, *Friends of Moslems*, Hankow, **19**: 13, 1945. See also article "China" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* **1**: 839–854, Leyden, Brill, 1913–1934.

[4] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng-Tsang Chuang-k'uang* (General account of Mongolia and Tibet), 200, Nanking, Chunghua Publishers, 1936.

[5] According to A. De Smedt and A. Mostaert, *Le dialecte monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou occidental, IIIe partie, Dictionnaire monguor-français*, 324, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1933, "san-t'a" is probably from *sarta'ul*, "Musulman." See also P. Pelliot, in *T'oung Pao* **27**: n. 2, 1930: "*Sarta'ul*, nom mongol des Musulmans (surtout de ceux du Turkestan russe) au Moyen Age."

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231 and every well-to-do family keeps a fast, handsome horse with a good saddle and trappings. They will spend freely for the purchase of a showy "Peking" outfit—a saddle edged with brass and trimmed with cloisonné enamel with stirrups to match, and a bright saddle rug. When a horse is unsaddled his head must be pointing to the west. Women as well as men may saddle horses. The Monguor vocabulary for the colors of horses and cows is very rich. They prefer black horses and cows, it being a shamanistic belief that this color is a good omen for the owner and for the increase of the livestock.

232 The Monguors geld their own horses, many of them being very proficient at this operation. The stallion is thrown on the ground and the region of the operation washed with hot water to sterilize it. The cutting is done with the sharp edge of a piece of porcelain from a freshly broken cup. The scrotum is opened and the testicles taken out. Some wine is then poured in the wound, salt rubbed into it, and the wound stitched up with a large needle, which is first "sterilized" by being rubbed in the hair of the man who is to do the stitching. Three or four threads taken from a woman's needle box are twisted together to form a coarse thread for the purpose. Finally, salt is rubbed liberally over the outside of the wound. The horse is walked around the threshing floor during the day and tied to the pole at night, in order to prevent his lying down for a few days. There is seldom a mishap in performing this operation. Some lamas are skilful in performing the operation. Horses are seldom gelded by crushing of the testicles.

787 For this important operation a shaman chooses a day of good omen. Before the operation is performed, the head of the family burns incense and boughs of cypress, offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." For seven days after the operation no visitors are allowed to enter the courtyard, at the gate of which are hung a bough of cypress and a skein of wool as a sign that a horse has been gelded.[68]

Rich people with large herds brand a mark on the left hip of horses and cows. Sheep are marked by cutting a rough design in the ear or by clipping out a piece of the ear. The Monguors are remarkably gifted at tracking lost animals. Chinese whose animals have strayed or been stolen always ask a Monguor to track them, and a tracker will follow the trail for many days.

231 462 It is women's work, except where shepherds are hired, to take care of the livestock in their stalls and pens and also to go out with them to pasture in the summer rainy season when the grass grows quickly.

231 463 Shepherds are the best paid among those Monguors who work for hire, because of the capital value of the

[68] Note that the same emblems are used to mark the tabu of a room in which childbirth has taken place, as described above. They are, therefore, tabu marks which are not restricted to a single kind of tabu.—O. L.

231 463 animals entrusted to them and the skill and devotion needed if the animals are to get the best pasture and to multiply rapidly. Skill is required especially in the lambing season. A shepherd is treated like a member of the family. At each meal one of the daughters-in-law presents him with his bowl of food, with both hands, with the same respect that is shown to the head of the family, and the shepherd's food is as good as that of the head of the family.

231 648 When there is not enough rain and the pasture is poor, the Monguors will go with a present to the chief of one of the nomad tribes of Tibetans or Mongols, asking permission to graze their stock on his land during the summer. The nomads are always very generous and helpful at such times.

231 The Monguors will never sell an animal, or allow an animal already sold to leave their home, on the first or fifteenth of the moon for fear that prosperity and luck might leave the family. Other beliefs in connection with cattle breeding will be discussed in my later work on the religious life of the Monguors.

231 251 An old Monguor of some sixty years once told me that during his lifetime he remembered four different occasions on which the cattle herds had been devastated by epizootics. When such a disaster happens, the flesh of the animals who have died of sickness is cut in long, thin strips which are dried in the sun and for the following year the Monguors have tough beef to chew at every meal.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 136 The Monguors hunt with the gun and with traps and poison, but because the region has become too thickly populated to support a great deal of game there is no hunting on a large scale. The animals hunted are foxes, wolves, musk-deer, hares, and pheasants, while boys like to shoot marmots with matchlock guns. Foxes and wolves are killed sometimes with the gun, but more usually with strychnine bought from the Chinese. First the tracks of the animal to be poisoned are studied in order to determine its habits. Then for several days meat, taken from hares and birds that have been killed by the hunter, is laid out in order to accustom the animal to this kind of feeding. The poison is then set out. Sometimes the strychnine is put inside a ball of meat, but more usually it is put in the hollow of a long, thin bone, the ends of which are sealed with wax. The fox or wolf dies near the place where it has cracked and swallowed such a bone, while strychnine placed in a ball of meat is slower to act and the animal may travel so far that it is difficult to track. Foxes are also taken with iron traps bought from Chinese smiths. The animal to be trapped is first watched carefully for a number of days in order to learn its habits. Then roasted flour is set out for it to feed on, so that it becomes unwary, and finally the trap is baited and set.

The most valuable game is the musk-deer, which is

226 Tibetan tribe on the shore of the lake from whose ter-
648 ritory they plan to operate, making him a present of the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity and a cask of wine, some tobacco, and noodles. They are then given the chief's permission and the protection of the tribe.
[608] The men of each fishing expedition usually go to the same territory every year and become sworn brothers of the chief or of some important local nomad, in order to make sure that while they are camped by the lake they will be allowed to gather fuel and will have no animals stolen.

226 Each fisherman breaks a hole in the ice, and spreads a couple of sheep skins on which he sits crosslegged, a two-pronged fork in his hands, waiting for fish to come to the surface of the water. The fish is harpooned with the fork and thrown on the ice. The frozen fish are either carried to market, usually at the city of Hsining, by the Monguors themselves or sold to Muslim merchants who make up caravans of twenty or thirty mules or donkeys. These expeditions involve hard work and exposure to the bitter cold, but the business must be remunerative as many Monguors go year after year.

TRADE

463 In the territory inhabited by the Monguors trade,
563 transport, and small industries are mostly in the hands
441 of Chinese and Muslims. The Muslims are an ener-
439 getic and enterprising people, even more hard working and indefatigable than other Chinese. They willingly engage in the arduous work of driving caravans of pack-mules and in running rafts and boats down the Hsining and Upper Yellow Rivers in all weathers. Most of the peddlars are also Muslims, who travel either with a pack on their backs or with a loaded donkey, wandering through the Monguor country from house to house, exchanging cloth, needles, thread, and other small wares for wool, skins, eggs, and grain. In the autumn, Muslim buyers collect sheep and oxen and drive them to Hsining in small herds.

There are very few Chinese peddlars, but the distilleries and flour and oil mills, which require money capital, are run by Chinese, and the Chinese monopolize the pork business, since the Muslims will have nothing to do with pigs. All through the year, and especially during the autumn, while the Muslims are buying up other livestock the Chinese butchers of the cities and towns send their agents into the Monguor villages to buy hogs. The Chinese merchants who do business on a bigger scale than the Muslim peddlars also send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at such large gatherings as the lama monastery festivals and the annual meetings of the Monguor clans.

441 Grain and oil seeds, being the main crops of the Monguors, are also the main commodities of trade. The conversion of grain into alcohol and of oil seeds into oil results in products of higher value in proportion to bulk and weight which can stand the cost of transporta-

441 tion to more distant markets that could not be reached by the unprocessed grain and seeds. These enterprises are, therefore, outlying Chinese businesses intermediate between the Monguor country and the Chinese-inhabited towns and cities. Wealthy Monguors, not confident of their own ability in trade, often invest their money in such Chinese enterprises; often, unfortunately, with the result that the Chinese partners get rich while the Monguors lose their money. Only a few Monguors, who are already well on the way toward becoming completely Chinese, venture into such enterprises as managing a small shop or buying and selling animals or wool and skins.

439 In the autumn, the Chinese managers of distilleries and oil mills make contracts with the Monguor farmers, the farmers undertaking to plant an agreed acreage with the crop required by the Chinese, and to sell the harvest at an agreed price. On the strength of this agreement, [452] the Chinese buyer makes a cash advance to the Monguor farmer. Wheat that does not go to the distilleries is bought up by Muslim dealers. The wheat is measured at the Monguor farm with the buyers' own measure, draft animals are hired from the Monguors to bring the wheat to the river bank, and it is there loaded on rafts and floated down to Lanchow.

252 There are some mills that grind flour for local Monguor consumption, and for that of neighboring Mongol and Tibetan nomads, and Chinese cities. These mills are built along small streams. A vertical wooden wheel carries an endless chain of buckets. As the stream fills the lower buckets, the wheel turns; coming up over the wheel, the buckets empty into a chute, and the descending water turns the nether stone of the mill, while the upper stone remains fixed. The grindstones are so crudely grooved that the grain has to be milled three times. Professional grindstone makers cut the blue stone in the mountains, install the millstones at the mill, and visit the mills every month to cut fresh grooves in the stones. There are only a few mills with horizontal power-wheels.

231 In the profitable business of buying livestock to be
• 463 slaughtered in such cities as Hsining and Lanchou, the
563 Muslims have a virtual monopoly of buying cows and
441 oxen, the Chinese have a monopoly in buying pigs, and both Muslim and Chinese butchers buy sheep. The most important season is the autumn, when the animals are in the best condition. Sheep are herded slowly for a journey of ten days or more to Lanchou, in order to
231 prevent them from going lame and losing weight. Pigs
441 are also driven slowly, each batch of pigs being handled by three men, moving only six or eight miles a day and sometimes taking a month to reach market. Ahead of the pigs is a man on foot driving a donkey loaded with dried peas and a long basket. Every mile or two the donkey is halted, some of the peas are poured into the basket, and enough is fed to the pigs to whet their appetites and keep the fat animals waddling after the

donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel relatively well because they have not been confined and fed in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from there to Europe and America for making brushes.

The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this buying is done directly in the homes of families that have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buying in small quantities is done by the peddlars, especially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments, and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as they travel.

Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs. Two or three times a year every important monastery holds special religions performances, around which there spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes, wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose diseases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses, cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and attract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable distances. In the afternoons there are horse races and wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymaking, and often, when there has been too much drinking, fights between clans and villages.

A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy, France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods, attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

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463 Mongolia, some of whom are going to study in the great
463 monasteries of Tibet but many of whom are going on
439 pilgrimage, partly to visit celebrated monasteries and
484 partly just for the fun of traveling and seeing the world.
Each traveler with such a caravan must take care of his own food and expenses.

A large number of young Monguors, especially those who can speak Tibetan, take jobs with these caravans. A man who is thus working with a caravan for hire can also, by ancient custom, take with him trade goods for his own private speculation. The Monguors take the big, handsome mules and fast horses bred in their own country, and things-like saddle girths woven with white wool, made in the Monguor country and known to sell readily in Tibet. The Monguor mules are especially esteemed in Tibet, and consequently Monguors who have mules or horses to sell will entrust them to a young man working with one of the trading caravans, sharing with him the profit of the venture.

439 The big caravan of the Kuopa Tibetans leaves Hsining
439 during the fourth moon of the lunar calendar and re-
484 turns from Lhasa in the second or third moon of the following year. In 1914, when traveling near the great lake of Kukunor, I met the vanguard of this caravan on its way to Lhasa. The vanguard carried two flags. When it was time to pitch camp for the night, the men showed their veteran skill by the way in which, under the orders of their chief, they staked out the site of the camp. An hour later the main caravan arrived in nine groups of fifty yaks, each of which was separated from the preceding group by a small distance. On each side of the caravan rode Monguors and Tibetans armed with rifles and long swords. Each of the nine groups was accompanied by travelers, some of whom were riding while others walked and led their horses and mules. Each group went straight to the spot that had been staked and roped off for it, unloaded its animals, and pitched a small tent. Some of the men then went out with the animals to pasture near the camp, while the others prepared food. In the early morning the caravan left again, in perfect order. Camp is made in the afternoon and broken in the morning with amazing skill and orderliness; throughout the journey, the pattern of the camp is maintained, so that each group knows exactly where it belongs.

Caravans carrying valuable loads never venture to travel in Tibet without a strong armed guard, for fear of being robbed by the wilder Tibetan tribes, such as
439 the Ngoloks. According to foreign explorers and
484 travelers these large and well defended caravans are seldom attacked, but according to Monguors who have
608 traveled with the caravans the safety of a caravan really depends on the custom of "sworn brotherhood." In
651 each territory through which the caravan is to travel, the chief of the caravan has a sworn brother who is one of the local chiefs. As the caravan approaches each new tribal territory, two men are sent ahead with valuable

291 to cope with the routine of their ordinary lives as the result of a day of real happiness. At the festival they 302 had felt and acted as if they belonged to the most beautiful and happy people in the world. Proud as peacocks, 182 they had walked smiling through the throngs as if they were queens. They had listened with pleasure to the jingling of the strings of copper coins hanging from their sashes; they had been delighted by the fluttering of the silk and satin handkerchiefs hanging by the embroidered ends of their sashes. They had enjoyed the fragrance of the strong musk perfume on their garments, and they had been admired and congratulated.

291 Unmarried girls are not dressed as gaudily as the married women. They wear blue cotton trousers, the attached lower legs of which are made of red cloth. Their blue cotton boots are embroidered with Chinese designs, usually of flowers. They wear the long gown of violet, green, blue, or red cotton cloth, with an apron over it. The hem of the gown is decorated with red cotton stitching. The collar is always of red cotton, and is embroidered. The sash is a piece of red cotton cloth, without embroidery. The sleeveless jacket is of green, blue, or red cotton trimmed at the edges with red stitching. Unmarried girls wear their hair in a small "bun" on top of the head, bound with red cord and covered with a shell. The rest of their hair is braided in two plaits, bound together at the neck with red cord and covered with a short sheath decorated with shells. Unmarried girls never wear hats. In winter they cover their ears and the side of their foreheads with a strip of red cotton cloth.

301 Both married and unmarried women wear bracelets, sometimes three or four pairs, and silver rings on the fourth finger of each hand—sometimes three or four rings on the same finger. The rings are sometimes of plain silver and sometimes set with coral or turquoise. Unmarried girls wear only small, simple rings in their ears. The earlobe is pierced in the spring on the day of the festival of the ancestors.

778 Both men and women often wear a reliquary on the chest, made like those worn by Mongols and Tibetans, often of silver, containing bits of writing from Tibetan scriptures, and sometimes miniature Buddhas.

HANDICRAFTS AND ORIGIN OF ARTISANS

463 There are, of course, no large scale industries among the Monguors. Most of their necessities can be bought either in the Chinese towns, or at the monastery festivals or the fairs that are held at the time of the clan assemblies. The handicrafts that are found among the Monguors themselves are limited to weaving, felt making, the making of fur coats, and the work of silversmiths. In addition there are a few carpenters and stone cutters.

286 The Monguors spin their own woolen yarn. Men, women, and older children spin when they have nothing else to do, drawing out the threads from a handful of

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

462 ditions offer opportunities to the kind of man who is clever with his hands and with tools. As such a man usually works for people who live in the same village or are members of the same clan, what usually happens is that the "clever" friend is invited to come over to lend a helping hand. A large part of his reward is in the opportunity to show his superior skill. When the job has been done he is invited to dinner, or if he is a poor man he is given some grain. Such opportunities are not enough, however, to enable a man to become a full-time specialized artisan.

Two Monguor artisans, self-made men, gave me the clue to the answer to this problem. "If there were no rich people," they said, "and above all if there were no monasteries in our country, we could never have been able to make a living as artisans; we would never have been anything but helpers. Because of the monasteries and the rich people, however, we are able to work all the year round and to take on apprentices." For this kind of artisan employment, rich people and monasteries provide the materials and the artisan provides only the special skill in using the materials.

463 874 A youngster who is handy with tools and wants to become an artisan invites two elders of his village to go with him at the New Year to see the artisan to whom he wants to apprentice himself. He presents the traditional "scarf of felicity" and two pieces of meat. The elders stand as surety for his obedience and honesty. He makes nine prostrations to the master artisan and promises obedience. A contract is then signed by the guarantors, the master artisan, and the boy. The period of apprenticeship is usually three years, during which the apprentice lives at the home of his master and in addition to learning his trade works, without pay, at all kinds of odd jobs, such as preparing his master's food, and working in his fields in the busy times of sowing and harvesting.

After three years, if the master is satisfied, the apprentice prepares a sheep and wine and invites his master, his two guarantors, and the former apprentices of his master to a feast. He presents his master with a gown or a pair of trousers or boots, prostrates himself nine times and receives from his master a set of the tools of his trade. He is then himself a master-artisan, and although he still has to work another year for his master, he is now paid for his work. For the rest of his life he feels indebted to his master and bound to help him whenever asked.

415 313 [322] One of the minor industries engaged in by Monguors is the manufacture of wooden bowls and small wooden boxes. The wood used is poplar, which is turned on a lathe and then coated with oil. Another small-scale occupation is the making of charcoal. Monguors living near forests belonging to lamaseries pay the monastery for the right to cut trees from which they burn charcoal which they take to the towns to sell. Other Monguors buy trees as they stand in the forest, cut them, and saw

/39 cont'd/

555 In the evening of the last day of the year, in the kitchen, in
302 front of the fireplace and before the image of the god of the hearth, they plait the bride's hair in the fashion of married women. The groom arrives, the whole family is together; the engaged couple kneel and bow three times to the god of the hearth. The marriage ceremony is completed! They prostrate themselves to their parents and to the whole family; a little extra is served at the meal, and they wish one another better days and a return of good fortune.

463 On the first days of the new year the parents invite the go-
465 between, they dine the best they can, they pour gin, and the young
58 couple prostrate themselves to him. Then they offer the go-between the usual present of the poor, either a string of cash or a string of cash and 400 cash. They make excuses for the little that they can offer, they thank him effusively, and then they have discharged their obligations.

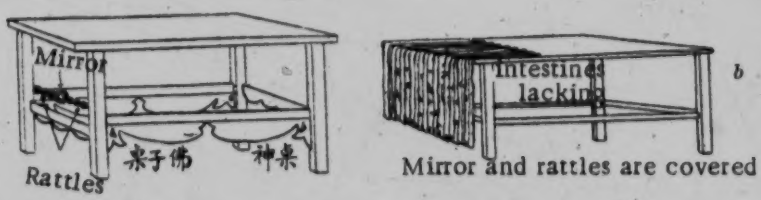
585 When the bride's family is very poor, it happens that the groom's family (mother-in-law and go-between) take the girl to their home when she is only nine or ten years old or even younger. They keep her in the family as an unmarried girl until she has reached 15; /40/ then the last day of the year she is married as described above. Marriage without ceremonies is also practiced in the last month of the year when there is a sudden death near the time of the wedding in one of the families of the engaged couple; the same should the girl's parents die; then the groom's family hastens to take the girl home to marry her when she is about 15.

765 Among the more Chinese T'ou-jen, upon the death of the
535 parents of one of the parties several days before the wedding, they follow the Chinese custom, which consists in celebrating the marriage without paying attention to the death. The festivities take place with the usual vigor. Only on the day after the wedding do the lamentations and the great mourning begin; the death is announced everywhere and preparations for the funeral are made.

[20 cont.]

*778 [824] The making of the spear: The wood of the shaft must have grown wild. Wood that has been planted or wood from inhabited, settled regions may never be taken, for it is not pure. The wood is therefore sought in lonely forests and mountains. The most superior wood is sandalwood. Since this is rare, however, the mountain ash is usually used. -- The iron is usually wrought iron. There is no prescriptions concerning its origin. It may be bought, taken from old tools, etc.

Fig. 2



a. Spirit-table without bands (sirie purgan); b. spirit-table with bands (sirie purgan).

[422] [562] [463] Anyone may have a spirit-spear, and anyone may make it himself, but never women. If the owner wants to have a beautiful spirit-spear, however, he will go to a skilled craftsman, carpenter, and smith. It is required that before starting the work the craftsman rinse out his mouth, wash his face and hands, and hold the latter [783] over the smoke of a cypress fire. The tools are also thoroughly [782] smoked. In addition, the smith casts some cypress incense into his smithy fire.

The craftsman may work at home in his workshop or in with [322] [326] the family of his client. The individual parts are made separately, in other words, the shaft by the carpenter, the tip and foot by the smith. They bring the parts to the owner's house. The latter then [782] offers twelve steamed loaves (or baked loaves) on the shelf in front of the Buddha image, as well as a piece of red cloth and a measure of barley. The craftsmen place their instruments on the grain in [788] the bushel, and all of them kowtow in front of the Buddha image, [322] [326] while the incense offering is presented outside. The carpenter receives the barley; the smith receives the twelve loaves with the red cloth.

[30 cont.]

sword. Frequently the shaman hangs an image of his tutelary spirit over the household altar. He must burn incense in front of it every day, just as before his sword; at certain times he sacrifices goats, sheep, or pigs to it.

The amulet cases with the image of the tutelary spirit are bought by the shamans in the monasteries or in the monastery markets. They are fairly expensive since they usually come from Peking, Shanghai, or Tibet.

Everything that the shaman does he does by virtue of his tutelary spirit. As such the following come into consideration: the dragon gods, the tiger god, the great mother, and in general the many lower spirits of the yellow religion that can take possession of a person. Heaven, however, can never become the tutelary spirit of the shaman.

Task of the shaman: The sword-shaman is supposed to prophesy, heal the sick, conjure away storms, drive away demons. He may not interfere in the activities of the lamas, Bon priests, or drum-shamans. For instance, he is not permitted to erect a mani-tree, but he may set up an ordinary mani-flag on the yard gate. Also, he may not undertake the ceremony of the pole-goat or hold sowing and harvest festivals; he does not officiate at funerals and weddings.

The ceremonies for healing the sick are quite manifold. The following is the most common. First of all the shaman puts himself in a trance. Then a man brings him a large iron spoon filled with water. The shaman tears a piece of cloth from his protective mirror, throws it into the water, scatters some barley grains over it, and holds the spoon over the open [31] fire until the water boils and the cloth is thoroughly steeped. Then he takes out the cloth and gives the broth to the sick person to drink.

In order to purify or to punish themselves or in order to demonstrate their authenticity, they swallow fire, hold their hand in the flames, pierce themselves with the sword, slit their bodies open, lick red-hot iron, etc.

[214 cont.]
782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types of prayer under the expression yandzila-, to implore, to request, and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer, however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which
[463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the
[792] lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are
[791] invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people connect praying with these professions is shown by the common designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the
[192] Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen, that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom mosĕ, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching. In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer, something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of
[791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests, Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely linked.

5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

771
174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

on the luckless family.

The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

5. Occupations

The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 233 463 [466] because of the value of the animals entrusted to them. They are skillful in breeding, and in finding the best pasture. A shepherd is treated as a member of his employer's family; he receives the same food, and the daughters-in-law must show him the same respect they accord to the head of the family.

The Mongours hunt foxes, hares, pheasants and musk deer, using guns, traps and poison. The fox skins are sold to Chinese merchants and the best skins, used for lining the winter garments of the rich, bring a handsome price. Musk deer are also valuable game. The precious musk glands, used as a special drug or as an essence in perfume, are sold by weight to Chinese dealers.

N *563 M 226 Fishing is important in Koko Nor, where the lake produces an abundant supply. Mongour expeditions go there as soon as the lake has frozen over each winter. They go first to the chief of the Mongol or Tibetan tribe on whose shore they plan to operate, and present gifts such as wine, tobacco, noodles and the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity in exchange for permission to fish and protection from the tribe. The fishermen usually go to the same territory every year, and become sworn brothers of the chief or some important local nomad. The expedition, which lasts about two months, involves hard work in the bitter cold, but the profits are sufficient reward. Preservation of the fish is no problem; they freeze immediately after they are caught. They are carried to the market in Hsi-ning, or sold to Moslem merchants who engage in caravan trade.

M [251]

N *563 M 438 439 Mongours carry on their trade largely with Chinese and Chinese Moslem merchants. The Moslems are an energetic and enterprising people who drive caravans of pack mules from house to house in the Mongour country, exchanging cloth, needles and thread for wool, skins, eggs and grain. In the autumn they collect oxen and sheep and drive them in small herds to Hsi-ning. The Chinese merchants do business on a larger scale. They send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at lama monastery festivals and at the annual celebrations and meetings of the Mongour clans. During the fall, when the Chinese Moslems are buying up sheep and oxen, the Chinese butchers of the cities send their agents to the Mongour villages to buy hogs. Chinese merchants also send their buyers into Mongour country for wool and skins, going from home to home. There are also peddlers, who deal largely in items needed in the Mongour home, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, sugar and pipe tobacco. Business is always by barter, with the top-ranking woman of the Mongour household doing the bargaining. As the peddler travels a long distance, it is customary to provide him with a place to sleep. Before he leaves he presents the hostess with a small token of apprecia-

M [437]